

T Y R T A E I
DE VIRTUTE BELLICA
CARMINUM RELIQUIAE.

DE VIRTUTE BELLICI
CARMINUM RELIGIO
T Y R T A E I



BRITISH MUSEUM





HERCULES J. L. LON

B

ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ

ΤΥΡΤΑΙΟΥ

ΠΟΛΕΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ,

ΣΕΣΩΣΜΕΝΑ.

MDCCCLIX.

THE
TYPAL
POVEMIZTHIN
EEMZEMNA

SPARTAN LESSONS;

OR,

THE PRAISE OF VALOUR;

IN THE VERSES OF

TYRTAEUS;

AN ANCIENT ATHENIAN POET,

ADOPTED BY THE

REPUBLIC OF LACEDAEMON,

AND EMPLOYED

TO INSPIRE THEIR YOUTH

WITH WARLIKE SENTIMENTS.

— Insignis HOMERUS,

TYRTAEUSQUE Mares animos in Martia Bella

Verfibus exacuit.

HORAT.

Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπεύροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων. HOM.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY ROBERT AND ANDREW FOULIS.

MDCCCLIX.

SEPARATE LESSONS

OR

THE PRINCE OF VALOUR

IN THE PRINCE OF

THE PRINCE OF

AN ANCIENT ATHLETIC FOOT

ADOPTED BY THE

REPUBLIC OF ACADEMY

AND EMPLOYED

TO INSURE THEIR

WITH THE BEST

— THE PRINCE OF

THE PRINCE OF

THE PRINCE OF

THE PRINCE OF

THE PRINCE OF

THE PRINCE OF

THE PRINCE OF



THESE REMAINS
OF ANCIENT PANEGYRIC
ON
MARTIAL SPIRIT AND PERSONAL VALOUR;
OF OLD,
THE DAILY LESSONS OF THE
SPARTAN YOUTH;

ARE,
WITH PROPRIETY,
INSCRIBED,
TO
THE YOUNG GENTLEMEN;
LATELY,
BRED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
GLASGOW;
AT PRESENT,
SERVING THEIR COUNTRY,
AS
OFFICERS
OF THE
HIGHLAND BATTALIONS
NOW IN
AMERICA.

THESE REMAINS
OF AN ANCIENT PANGLOSS

ON
MARTIAL SPIRIT AND PERSONAL VALOR

THE BATTLE OF BLOIS
IN SPARTAN YOUTH

WITH PROSPERITY
INSCRIBED

TO
THE YOUNG GENTLEMAN

CATTLE
PRESENTED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF

GLASGOW

AT PRESENT
SERVING THEIR COUNTRY

OF THE

NICHOLAND STATION

NOW IN

AMERICA

SOME ACCOUNT OF
TYRTAEUS,
ADDRESSED
TO
THE SAME GENTLEMEN.

TYRTAEUS, after Homer, and Hesiod, is the most ancient Greek Poet of whom we have any remains. according to the chronology of Sir Isaac Newton, he was born, a few years before the foundation of Rome; about two hundred years, before the Peloponnesian War, or Age of Socrates; and, about one hundred years, after Lycurgus had established in Sparta those laws and institutions, for education, government, and war; by a religious observance of which, the Lacedaemonians became, in time, the most warlike of all nations.

Sparta, from the first infancy of the republic thus modelled by Lycurgus, had a powerful rival in the neighbouring state of Messene. the quarrel soon grew to a deadly enmity^b; like that of Rome and Carthage; and, like that too, was carried on, for several generations^b, through three long bloody wars. the genius of Sparta prevailed at last; but not till she had, like Rome, been reduced to the greatest extremities. for, as Carthage had her Hannibal, Messene had her Aristomenes, the scourge of Sparta^c; who, in the SECOND Messenian war, gained so many and so great, advantages, over the Lacedaemonians, as brought them almost to despair^d.

At the beginning of this second war, the Lacedaemonians had consulted the

Oracle at Delphi, for advice what conduct to pursue. they were ordered to ask a general from the Athenians, to follow his advice in the conduct of the war, and then to hope for success.

The response was a severe mortification to the high Spartan spirit. their kings, immediate descendents of Hercules, were, by their constitution, the generals of their armies. but they would not disobey the God; and Athens, tho' at no time a friend to the growing power of Sparta, had also too much reverence for the Oracle to venture a refusal. they sent Tyrtaeus, one of their citizens; a man, who had indeed, very probably, carried arms; as did every Athenian citizen, without exception; but, who had never been distinguished, by any

rank in their armies. he was only known to his countrymen as a poet. it was, however, no strange thing, at Athens, for a poet, or even a philosopher, to be also a warrior. the valour of Aeschylus, in the battle of Marathon, gained him great military glory. in the Peloponnesian war, Sophocles was joined with the renowned Pericles, in the supreme command of the armies of Athens. Xenophon was the greatest general, as well as the most amiable writer, of his age. and, Tyrtaeus, if he had not the practice of war, and experience of command, he had, at least, undoubtedly, the true military spirit, and was born with the very soul of a soldier.

On his arrival at Sparta, he was, immediately, naturalized, and taken into

their councils and ^barmy. but the promise of the Oracle was not, immediately, fulfilled. the conduct and stratagems of Aristomenes, invigorated by his own heroic bravery, continued, for some time, to prevail over the sedate valour, and religious attachment of the Lacedaemonians to their own established rules of war. ^a he defeated them in three successive battles. ¹

Hitherto the advice and influence of Tyrtaeus had produced no remarkable advantage in the field. but it had, however, in the mean while, been of the most signal service to Sparta, in the very heart of the city itself; where he appeased a dangerous sedition, arisen among the citizens, and like to have proved fatal to the very being of the Republic. it was occasioned

by a famine, which the necessities of the war had brought on, and which bore harder on one part of the citizens than on the rest.^m

At length, the two kings of Sparta, discouraged by repeated ill success, looking on Aristomenes as a favourite of Fortune, and despairing to prevail, took the resolution, to retire home with the Lacedaemonian army, abandon the war, and leave their enemies to enjoy the honour and advantages they had so bravely gained.ⁿ

This resolution was vigorously opposed by Tyrtaeus; who, on the contrary, exhorted earnestly to try another battle.^o as his advice had the sanction of the same Oracle which had, formerly, sanctified the laws of Lycurgus, and had added the awe

of religion to the authority of the magistrate; the two kings revered the God and dropt their opposition. a battle was resolved on; and Tyrtaeus^o called the army together, to hear what, in obedience to the Oracle, he had to deliver.

In those days, all moral precepts, all rules and maxims, for the conduct of private life, of government, or war; every thing, in short, designed to be left on record for the benefit of mankind, was, in imitation of the advices of the Gods delivered by their oracles, composed in verse; and, most commonly, in Elegiac. writing in prose was not yet in use.

Tyrtaeus had prepared some pieces of that kind, for the use of the Lacedaemonian army. In these, ^p he displayed the du-

ties of a soldier; the magnanimity of despising the caprice of fortune; the love of our country; the glory of dying in its defence; the praise and honours of valour; the joys and rewards of victory. ^P these he had composed in the very spirit of heroism; and, in the same spirit, did he, now, deliver them. he spoke to Spartans. they had their full effect. the kings, the soldiers, breathed again the genius of war. his words, like inspiration, had fired anew their souls; and left no corner of their breasts cool with the love of life. ^P death they despised; but, want of funeral-rites, even Spartans could not think of, without religious horror. such was the superstition of those ancient times. Tyrtaeus, Missionary of Apollo, was favoured

by the God, and found a remedy. ^peach soldier tied a token round his arm; on which his name and designation was inscribed. by these their friends wou'd know their bodys. ^pand, now, the chill vapour of that only damp dispelled; the qualm was over; and the fire, already kindled in their bosoms, flamed forth, without obstruction, in it's full native blaze. the charge was sounded^p. the Spartans won the day.

But, a hard-fought day it was^p. one of the bloodiest, and most obstinate battles which history has left on record^p.

The Spartan kings had added artifice to inspiration. by captives, permitted to desert, they had ^plet the enemy know the present temper of the Lacedaemonian ar-

my. but the men of Messene fought for liberty and independence. far from being daunted at the news, tho' unexpected, they were only the more animated, to maintain the advantages they had already gained; and, by one decisive victory, secure the blessings they had struggled for so long. Messene had the spirit, but not at all the discipline, of Sparta.

For, the youth of Sparta, with unabating perseverance, and ardour inextinguishable, continued, all day-long, exerting and redoubling those prodigious efforts of heroic valour, which must ever, like a miracle, astonish all mankind; when, throughout the whole of an army, the highest enthusiasm, for military honour and the glory of their native country, is

directed, by a discipline, become, through constant use, familiar and unconstraining; and, supported, by an experience, which renders every soldier acquainted with the whole ordinary business of a general.

In such a cause, such men, so trained, will always fight secure of the inconstancies of Fortune.

Tyrtaeus, afterwards, enlarged, and digested, those pieces, into RUDIMENTS OF WAR, ⁹ for the education of the Spartan youth. in that light they were ⁹ adopted by the state, as a supplement to the military institutions of Lycurgus. it was made even one of the standing laws of war, that, in every campaign, upon taking the field, every man of the army was to be summoned to attend at the king's tent, to

hear the warlike lessons of Tyrtaeus⁹. so sensible was Sparta, that the Poet, by his first rehearsal, had recovered the glory, perhaps even saved the independence, of the republic.

Nothing, indeed, of the kind, could be more admirably suited, to promote the views of a lawgiver who had united his countrymen into a republic, all of warriors; and to support the spirit of a system of laws all written with the point of the sword.

Thus, those verses became the daily lessons of their youth, and the study of Tyrtaeus, the only literature in esteem, at Lacedaemon. their kings, their generals and their statesmen, continued, to their latest old age, to hold him in the highest ad-

miration. they never mentioned him, but with a kind of rapture; because, said they, when we call the generous youth forth to the field, Tyrtaeus sounds the charge, and makes their young hearts beat and pant for glory. they spring with transport to the path of Honour; while, Discipline, their † BIRTH-RIGHT, guides their way.

Thus, Leonidas, the most glorious of all kings, when asked his opinion of Tyrtaeus; ἡ ἀγαθὸν ποιητὴν, ἔφη, νομίζω, νέων ψυχὰς καλλύειν· ὥς, τοῖς νέοις, διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν, ΟΡΜΗΝ ἐμποιῶντα, μετὰ ΘΥΜΟΥ καὶ ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΣ, ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ΑΦΕΙΔΟΥΣΑΝ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ.

He was held, also, in admiration, at

† Really *their* birth-right; and, of | indeed, alone. for where there is no li-
all nations, *modern*, or ancient, *theirs*, | berty, there can be no *real* birth-right.

Athens, on account of the warlike spirit of his poetry: thus, the Athenian stranger, in the first book of Plato's Laws, Ὡς Τύρταις, ποιητὰ θεϊόταίς· δοκεῖς γὰρ δὴ σοφὸς ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθός· ὅτι, τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διαφέροντας, διαφερόντως ἐγκεκώμιασας.

And, just before, Τύρταιον — ὅς, δὲ, μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων, περὶ ΤΑΥΤΑ [τὰς πολεμικὰς ἀρετὰς] ἐσπέδακεν.

And, Lycurgus, the celebrated Athenian orator, and friend of Demosthenes, pays the greatest honour to the poetry and genius of Tyrtæus, in that oration, the only one of his now remaining, in which, with the most manly eloquence, he shows how much it would redound to the honour of Athens and to the good of the people, to condemn, for cowardice,

and put to death, Leocrates; who, after the disaster at Chaeronea, had infamously deserted his country, in her greatest distress. among other motives of just resentment against so base a man, he puts the judges in mind of the glorious character of their ancestors, their generous sentiments and manly deeds, their abhorrence of cowards, and their love and esteem of those poets whose muse inspires the mind with courage and intrepid resolution, and makes men prodigal of life to save their country. he tells them, that, in this respect, Homer was the favourite of ancient Athens, and Tyrtaeus of Lacedaemon; classing the two together, as, with the same good taste, is done by Horace, in the motto.

Βέλομαι, says he, ὑμῖν καὶ τὸν ΟΜΗΡΟΝ πα-
 ρασχέσθαι, ἑπαινῶν. ἔγω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ἡμῶν οἱ
 πατέρες σπευδαῖον εἶναι ποιητὴν, ὥς ἐ νόμον ἔθεντο,
 καθ' ἑκάστην πενταετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων, μόνος
 τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ῥαψωδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη· ἐπίδειξιν
 ποιῶμενοι πρὸς τὰς Ἑλλήνας, ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν
 ἔργων προηρῶτο. εἰκότως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόμοι, διὰ τὴν
 συντομίαν, ἐδιδάσκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτάττουσιν, ἃ δεῖ ποι-
 εῖν· οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ, μιμνέμενοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, τὰ
 κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἐκλεξάμενοι, μετὰ λόγος καὶ ἀπο-
 δείξεως τὰς ἀνθρώπους συμπεΐθουσιν. Ἐκτὼς γὰρ, τοῖς
 Τρωσὶ παρακελευόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, τάδε εἴ-
 ρηκεν·

Ἀλλὰ μάχεσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶ διαμπερές. ὅς δέ κεν ὑμέων,
 Βλήμενος ἢ τυπεῖς, θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπῃ·
 Τεθνάτω. ἢ οἱ αἰετὲς, ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης,
 Τεθνάμεν· ἀλλ' ἀλόχῳς τε σόῃ, καὶ νήπια τέκνα·
 Καὶ κλῆρος, καὶ οἶκος, ἀκήρατος· εἶκεν Ἀχαιοὶ

Ἰκάνηαι σὺν ἡμεσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

Τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν ἀκούοντες, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ πρόγονοι
ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων ἑλθόντες, ὥτως
ἔσχον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὥστε ἔ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν
πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος, ὡς κοινῆς, ἤθελον
ἀποθνήσκειν, οἱ, γὰρ, ἐν Μαραθῶνι παραλαβόμενοι τοῖς
βαρβάροις, τὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας εὐλον ἐκράτη-
σαν, τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις κοινὴν ἄδειαν ἅπασι τοῖς
Ἕλλησι κτώμενοι· ἔκ ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ μέγα φρονῶντες,
ἀλλ', ἐπὶ τῷ ταύτης ἄξιᾳ πράττειν, τῶν μὲν Ἑλ-
λήνων προσάτας, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων δεσπότας, ἐαυτοὺς
καθιστάντες. ἔ γὰρ λόγῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπετήδευον, ἀλλ'
ἔργῳ πᾶσιν ἐπεδείκνυντο.

Τοιγαρὺν ὥτως ἦσαν ἄνδρες σπουδαῖοι, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ
ἰδίᾳ, οἱ τότε τὴν πόλιν οἰκῶντες, ὥστε, τοῖς ἀνδρείο-
τάτοις Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις πο-
λεμῶσι πρὸς Μεσσηνίους, ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς, παρ' ἡμῶν
ἡγεμόνα λαβεῖν, καὶ νικήσκειν τοὺς ἐναντίους. καίτοι, εἰ

τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγενημένων, οἳ αἰεὶ βασιλεύουσιν
 ἐν Σπάρτῃ, τὸς παρ' ὑμῶν ἡγεμόνας ἀμείνους ὁ θεὸς
 ἔκρινε, πῶς ἔκ ἀνυπέρβλητον χρὴ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν
 νομίζειν; τίς, γάρ, ἔκ οἷδε, τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι, ΤΥΡ-
 ΤΑΙΟΝ στρατηγὸν ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεθ' ἧ
 καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸς νέας
 ἐπιμέλειαν συνετάξαντο; ἢ μόνον εἰς τὸν παρόντα
 κίνδυνον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα, βελευσάμενοι
 καλῶς. κατέλιπε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεία ποιήσας, ὧν
 ἀκῶντες παιδεύονται πρὸς ἀνδρείαν· καὶ, περὶ τὸς ἄλ-
 λας ποιητὰς ὑδὲνα λόγον ἔχοντες, περὶ τούτου ἔγωγε
 σφόδρα ἐσπεύδακασιν, ὥς τε νόμον ἔθεντο, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς
 ὅπλοις ἐκστρατευόμενοι ᾧσι, καλεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν τῆ βα-
 σιλέως σκηνὴν, ἀκῶσόμενος τῶν Τυρταίου ποιημάτων,
 ἅπαντας νομίζοντες ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸς μάλιστα πρὸς τῆς
 πατρίδος ἐθέλειν ἀποθνήσκειν. χρήσιμον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τού-
 των ἀκῶσαι τῶν ἐλεγείων, ἵνα ἐπίσκηθε οἷα ποιεῖντες
 εὐδοκίμην παρ' ἐκείνοις.

Here Lycurgus pronounces the fourth of the following poems, and then proceeds thus.

Καλά γε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ χρήσιμα τοῖς βελο-
μένοις προσέχειν. ἔτῳ τοίνυν εἶχον πρὸς ἀνδρείαν σὶ
τέτων ἀκρόντες, ὥς, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν περὶ τῆς
ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητεῖν. εἰκότως. τὰ γὰρ κάλλιστα
τῶν ἔργων ἀμφοτέροις ἦν κατειργασμένα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
* πρόγονοι τὲς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν, οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς
Ἀττικῆς ἐπέβησαν· καὶ καθαφανῇ ἐποίησαν, τὴν ἀν-
δρείαν τῷ πλάτῃ, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῷ πλήθει, περι-
γυνομένην. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ', ἐν Θερμοπύλαις παρα-
ταξάμενοι, ταῖς μὲν τύχαις ὁμοίως ἐχρήσαντο, τῇ
δ' ἀνδρείᾳ πολὺ πάντων διήνεκον. τοιγαρὺν, ἐπὶ τοῖς
ὀρίοις τῷ * βίῃ, μαρτύριά ἐστιν ἰδεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν
ἀναγεγραμμένα, ἀληθῆ, πρὸς ἅπαντας τὲς Ἑλλήνας·

Ω ΖΕΙΝ, ΑΓΓΕΙΛΟΝ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣ ΟΤΙ ΤΗΔΕ

ΚΕΙΜΕΘΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΠΕΙΘΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΝΟΜΙΜΟΙΣ.

Τοῖς δὲ ὑμετέροις προγόνοις·
 ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΜΑΧΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙ
 ΧΡΥΣΟΦΟΡΩΝ ΜΗΔΩΝ ΕΣΤΟΡΕΞΑΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ.

Ταῦτα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι καλὰ· καὶ
 ταῖς πράξεσιν ἔπαινος, καὶ τῇ πόλει δόξα αἰμίμητος.
 ἀλλ' ἔχ' ὁ Λεωκράτης πεποίηκεν· ἀλλ', ἐκὼν, τὴν
 ἐξ ἀπάντος τῷ αἰῶνος συνηθροισμένην τῇ πόλει δόξαν
 καλῆσ' ἔχονεν. εἴαν, μὲν ἔν, ἀποκλείνηε αὐτὸν, δόξεε
 πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων
 μισεῖν. εἰ, δέ, μὴ καὶ τὸς προγόνους τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης
 ἀποσερήσειε, καὶ τὸς ἄλλους πολίτας μεγάλα βλά-
 ψείε. οἱ, γὰρ, ἐνείκους μὴ θαυμάζοντες, τῷτον πειρά-
 σονται μιμεῖσθαι νομίζοντες, ἐκεῖνα μὲν παρὰ τοῖς
 πολεμίοις εὐδοκμεῖν, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναΐδειαν καὶ προ-
 δοσίαν κερῖσθαι κάλλισον.

It may not be improper to subjoin here,
 likewise, the passage of Justin; from which,
 is partly drawn, and partly connected, this

little sketch of ancient story, and of a poet who makes a principal figure in the most important period of it. a sketch, in which, it was not at all intended, uniformly to preserve the stile, or imitate the composition, of just history. no. it is written with the freedom allowable in a preface, the whole design of which is, to recommend the lessons of the poet, and introduce both him and them to the acquaintance of the young gentlemen, to whom, they are inscribed, and this addressed.

The passage in Justin is this.

Reges Lacedaemoniorum, ne, contra Fortunam pugnando, majora detrimenta civitati infligerent, reducere exercitum voverunt; ni intervenisset TYRTAEUS; qui composita carmina exercitui pro concione

recitavit; in quibus, hortamenta virtutis, damnorum solatia, belli consilia, conscripserat. itaque, tantum ardorem militibus iniecit, ut, non de salute, sed de sepultura, solliciti, tesseras, insculptis suis et patrum nominibus, dextro brachio deligarent; ut, si omnes adversum proelium consumsisset, et temporis spatio confusa corporum lineamenta essent, ex indicio titulorum tradi sepulturae possent. cum sic animatum reges exercitum viderent, curant rem hostibus nuntiari. Messeniis, autem, non timorem res, sed aemulationem mutuam, dedit. itaque, tantis animis concursus est, ut raro unquam cruentius proelium fuerit. ad postremum, tamen, victoria Lacedaemoniorum fuit.

To the authority of Lycurgus, that the conduct of Tyrtaeus was the cause of the conquest of Messene, and the study of his poems established by law, as part of the military education at Lacedaemon, may be added the testimony of a celebrated historian of antiquity; Philochorus the Athenian, who flourished about the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes. the following passage from him is preserved in Atheaeus. v

Οἱ Λάκωνες, ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, τὰ ΤΥΡΤΑΙΟΥ ποιήματα ἀπομνημονεύοντες, ἐν ρυθμῷ κίνησιν ποιῶνται. ΦΙΛΟΧΟΡΟΣ, δὲ, φησὶ κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων, διὰ τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν, ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι ὅταν δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ παιανίσωσιν, ᾄδειν, καθ' ἓνα, Τυρταίου. κρίνειν, δὲ, τὸν πολέμαρχον, καὶ ἄθλον δίδοναι τῷ νικῶντι, κρέας.

A U T H O R I T I E S.

- a From Plato, in the first book of laws. from the oration of Lycurgus against Leocrates. from Philochorus, in Athenaeus. from Strabo, and Plutarch. from Pausanias in his Messenica; and Justin, book third, chapter fifth.
- b Strabo, Pausanias, and Justin.
- c Pausanias, who has alone preserved the history of the Messenian heroes.
- d Justin.
- e Lycurgus; Strabo, from Philochorus, Callesthenes, and many other historians, B. VIII. Pausanias; Justin.
- f Plato; Lycurgus; Plutarch's Laconic apophthegms, in the article of Pausanias son of Cleombrotus.
- g Pausanias.
- h Lycurgus; Plutarch, *ibid*; Justin.
- k Pausanias.
- l Justin.
- m Pausanias.
- n Pausanias; Justin.
- o Justin.
- p Justin.
- q Lycurgus.
- r Plutarch, in the beginning of his dialogue on the comparative sagacity of land and water animals.
- s The preceeding three poems are preserved in Stobaeus. and some few more lines and couplets are found in Strabo and Pausanias.
- t Book III. Chap. 5.
- v Book XIV. Chap. 7.

N. B. Omitted, in the title of the preface, the first letter of reference (a), after the word TYRTAEVS.

ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ
 ΤΥΡΤΑΙΟΥ
 ΠΟΛΕΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ,
 ΣΕΞΩΣΜΕΝΑ.

Α.

Οὔτ' ἂν μνησαίμην, ἔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην,
 Οὔτε ποδῶν ἀρετῆς, ἔτε παλαισμοσύνης·
 Οὐδ' εἰ Κυκλώπων μὲν ἔχοι μέγεθος τε βίην τε,
 Νικῶη δὲ θεῶν Θρηϊκίον Βορέην·
 Οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοῖο φυὴν χαριέστερος εἴη,
 Πλατοίη δὲ Μίδεω κ' Κινύραο πλέον·
 Οὐδ' εἰ Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος βασιλεύτερος εἴη,
 Γλῶσσαν δ' Ἀδρήστ' μειλιχόγηρυν ἔχον·
 Οὐδ' εἰ πᾶσαν ἔχοι δόξαν, πλὴν θέριδος ἀλκῆς.
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ,
 Εἰ μὴ τεταπείη μὲν ὄρῳ φόνον αἱματόεντα,
 Καὶ δηϊὼν ἀρέγοιτ' ἐγγύθεν ἰσάμενος.

Α

Ἡ δ' ἀρετή, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον,

Κάλλισόν τε φέρειν γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ νέῳ.

Ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τῷτο πόλῃ τε, παντί τε δήμῳ,

Ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένη

Νωλεμέως, αἰσχυρὰς δὲ φυγῆς ἐπιπάγχυ λάθῃται,

Ψυχὴν καὶ θυμὸν τλήμονα παρθέμενος·

Θαρσύνῃ δὲ πεσεῖν τὸν πλησίον ἀνδρα παρεσῶς·

Οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεται ἐν πολέμῳ.

Αἶψα δὲ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν ἔτρεψε φάλαγγας

Τριχείας, σπεδῇ τ' ἔσχεθε κύμα μάχης.

Αὐτὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν,

Ἄστυ τε καὶ λαὸς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας·

Πολλὰ διὰ σέρνοιο καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης,

Καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πρόσθεν ἐληλαμένος.

Τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἡδὲ γέροντες,

Ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις.

Καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι,
 Καὶ παίδων παῖδες, καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω.
 Οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται, εἰδ' ὄνομ' αὐτῷ,
 Ἀλλ', ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν, γίγνεται ἀθάνατος,
 Ὄντιν', ἀρισεύοντα, μένοντά τε, μαρνάμενόν τε,
 Γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων, θῆρος Ἄρης ὀλέση.
 Εἰ δὲ φύγοι μὲν κῆρα τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
 Νικήσας δ' αἰχμῆς ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἔλοι·
 Πάντες μὲν τιμῶσιν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί,
 Πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθὼν ἔρχεται εἰς Αἶδην.
 Γηράσκων δ' αἰσοῖσι μεταπρέπει, εἰδὲ τις αὐτὸν
 Βλάπτειν, εἴτ' αἰδῶς εἴτε δίκης, ἐθέλει.
 Πάντες δ' ἐν θάκοισιν, ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ τε κατ' αὐτὸν,
 Εἵκασ' ἐκ χώρης, οἳ τε παλαιότεροι.
 Ταύτης νῦν τις ἀνὴρ ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι
 Πειράσθαι, θυμὸν μὴ μεθίεις πολέμῳ.

ΜΕΧΡΙΣ τευ κατὰκεισθε; κότε ἄλκιμον ἔξετε θυμὸν,
 ὧ νέοι; εἰδ' αἰδεῖσθ' ἀμφιπερικτίοντας,
 ὧδε λήην μεθιέντες; ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ δοκεῖτε
 ἦσθαι ἀτὰρ πόλεμος γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἔχει.

* * * * *

Καί τις ἀποθνήσκων ὕστατ' εἰκοντισάτω.
 Τιμῆν τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀγλαὴν ἀνδρὶ, μάχεσθαι
 Γῆς πέρι, καὶ παῖδαν, κυριδὴς τ' ἀλόχε,
 Δυσμενέσων. θάνατος δέ ποτ' ἔσsetαι, ὅππότε κεν δὴ
 Μοῖραι ἐπικλώσωσ'. ἀλλὰ τις ἰθὺς ἴτω,
 Ἐγχος ἀνισχύρεσκα, καὶ ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄλκιμον ἦτορ
 Ἐλσας, τοπρῶπον μινυρᾶν πολέρεα.
 Οὐ γάρ κως θάνατόν γε φυγεῖν εἰκαρμένον ἐστὶν
 Ἄνδρ', εἰδ' εἰ προχόων ἢ μένος ἀθανάτων.

Πολλάκι δηϊοτῆτα φυγὼν καὶ δῆπον ἀκόντων

Ἔρχεται, ἐν δ' οἴκῳ μοῖρα κίχεν θανάτῃ.

Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ ἔμπας * δῆμῳ φίλος, ἐδὲ ποθεινός·

Τὸν δ' ὀλίγος σενάχει, καὶ μέγας, ἣν τι πάθη.

Λαῶ γὰρ ξύμπαντι πόθος κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρός·

Θνήσκοντος, ζῶων δ' ἄξιος ἡμιθέων.

Ὡς περ γὰρ μιν πύργον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρᾷσιν·

Ἔρδει γὰρ πολλῶν ἄξια μῆνος ἐών.

MSS. δειλῶ.

B

Γ.

Ἀλλ', Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνίκητον γένος ἐσέ,
 Θαρσείτ', ἔπαυ Ζεὺς αὐχένα λοξὸν ἔχει.
 Μὴδ' ἀνδρῶν πληθὺν δειμαίνετε, μηδὲ φοβεῖσθε·
 Ἴθὺς δ' ἐς προμάχας ἀσπίδ' ἀκὴρ ἐχέτω,
 Ἐχθρὰν μὲν ψυχὴν θέμενος, θανάτῳ δὲ μελαίνας
 Αὐγαῖσιν κῆρας ἡλίοιο φίλας.
 Ἴσε γὰρ ὡς Ἄρεως πολυδακρύτῳ ἔργ' ἀρίδηλα,
 Εὖ δ' ὄργην ἐδάη' ἀργαλὲς πολέμῳ.
 Καὶ μέλα φευγόντων τε διωκόντων τ' ἐγένεσθε,
 Ὡς νέοι, ἀμφοτέρων δ' εἰς κόρον ἡλάσατε.
 Οἳ μὲν γὰρ τολμῶσι, παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες,
 Ἐς τ' αὐτοσχεδίην καὶ προμάχας ἵεναι,
 Παιρώτεροι θνήσκεσι, σάεσι δὲ λαὸν ὀπίσσω
 Τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή.

Οὐδ' εἰς δ' ἂν πολε ταῦτα λέγων ἀνύσειεν ἕκαστα
 Ὅσ', ἂν αἰσχροῖα πάθῃ, γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ κακά.
 Ἀργαλέον γὰρ ὅπισθε μετὰ φρενὸν ἐσι δαΐζειν
 Ἀνδρὸς φεύγοντος δηῖον ἐν πολέμῳ.
 Αἰσχροὺς δ' ἐς ἱ νέκυς κατακείμενος ἐν κονίῃσι
 Νῶτον ὅπισθ' αἰχμῇ θυρὸς ἐληλαμένος.
 Ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι
 Στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὀδῶσι δακνών·
 Μηρὺς τε κνήμας τε κάτω καὶ ἑρνα καὶ ὤμους
 Ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρὶ καλυψάμενος·
 Δεξιτερῇ δ' ἐν χειρὶ τινασσέτω ὄβριμον ἔγχος,
 Κινεῖται δὲ λόφον δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς.
 Ἐρδων δ' ὄβριμα ἔργα διδασκέσθω πολεμίζειν,
 Μηδ' ἐκλὸς βελέων ἐσάτω ἀσπίδ' ἔχων.
 Ἀλλὰ τις ἐγὺς ἰὼν αὐτοσχεδὸν ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ
 Ἥ ξίφει ἐτάζων δηῖον ἀνδρ' ἐλέται·

Καὶ πόδα παρ ποδὶ θείς, καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας,

Ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφῳ, καὶ κυνέην κυνέῃ,

Καὶ σέρνον σέρνω πεπαλημένος ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω,

Ἡ Ξίφεος κώπην ἢ δόρυ μακρὸν ἐλάν.

Ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ γυμνήτες, ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος

Πτώσσοντες, μεγάλοις βάλλετε χερμαδίοις,

Δέραςί τε Ξεσοῖσιν ἀκοντίζοντες ἐς αὐτάς,

Ταῖσι πανοπλίαις πλησίον ἰσάμενοι.

αὐτὸν δὲ ἰσχυρὸν ἔσται, ἀποχρῶν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἑ-

Δ.
αὐτὸν δὲ ἰσχυρὸν ἔσται, ἀποχρῶν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἑ-

ΤΕΘΝΑΜΕΝΑΙ γὰρ καλὸν ἐπὶ προμάχοισι πεισόντα

Ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν, περὶ ἧ πατρίδι μαρναμένον.

Τὴν δ' αὐτῇ προλιπόντα πόλιν καὶ πίνοντας ἀγρὺς

Πτωχεύειν, πάντων ἔς' ἀνιηρότατον,

Πλαζόμενον σὺν μητρὶ φίλῃ καὶ πατρὶ γέροντι,

Παισί τε σὺν μικροῖς, κυριδίῃ τ' ἀλόχῳ.

Ἐχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι μετέσσεται ὅς κεν ἴκηται,

Χρησιμοσύνη τ' εἰκὼν καὶ συγγερῇ πενίῃ.

Αἰσχύνει δὲ γένος, κατὰ δ' ἀγλαὸν εἶδος ἐλέγχει,

Πᾶσα δ' ἀθυμία καὶ κακότης ἔπεται.

Εἴθ' ἔτῳς ἀνδρὸς τοι ἀλωμένε ὑδεμὶ ὥρη

Γίγνεται, ἔτ' αἰδῶς εἰσοπίσω τελέθει.

Θυμῷ, γῆς περὶ τῆςδε, μαχώμεθα καὶ περὶ παίδων.

Θνήσκωμεν ψυχῶν μηκέτι φειδόμενοι.

Ὡ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε, παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες,

Μηδὲ φυγῆς αἰσχροῦς ἄρχετε, μηδὲ φόβου.

Ἀλλὰ μέγαν ποιεῖτε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν,

Μηδὲ φιλοψυχεῖτ', ἀνδράσι μαρναμένοι.

Τὰς δὲ παλαιότερας, ἃν ἔκτε γένηται ἑλαφρά,

Μὴ καταλείποντες, φεύγετε, τὰς γεραίρας.

Αἰσχροὺν γὰρ δὴ τῦτο, μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντας

Κεῖσθαι, πρόσθε νέων, ἄνδρα παλαιότερον,

Ἢδὴ λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη, πολὺν τε γένειον,

Θυμὸν ἀποπνεύοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κοίῃ,

Αἱματῶντ' αἰδοῖα φίλαις ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα.

Αἰσχροὺς τὰ γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ κερμαστῶν ἰδεῖν,

Καὶ χροῖα γυμνωθέντα· νέοισι δὲ πάντα ἐπέεικεν.

Ὅφρ', ἄρα, τῆς ἡβῆς ἀγλαὴν ἄνθος ἔχει,

Ἀνδράσι, μὲν, θνητοῖσιν ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς, δὲ, γυναῖξιν.

Ζωὸς ἐὼν· καλὸς, δ', ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών.

Ἀλλά τις, εὖ διαβὰς, μινέτω, ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι
Στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὀδῦσι δακρύν.



ΤΥΡΑΙΩΤΩΝ

Ἰστορία τῆς πόλεως τῆς Τυρίας

ὑπομνήματα τοῦ ἱεροῦ



OBSERVATIONS

ON THE GREEK TEXT,

WHICH OCCURRED WHILE THE PREFACE WAS
AT THE PRESS.

IN PLUTARCH.

Page xvii. line 13. Καλλύνειν.] Plutarch has repeated this opinion of Leonidas, concerning the poetry of Tyrtaeus, in three different places of his writings. he has it again in the life of Cleomenes, near the beginning, thus.

Λεωνίδαν---τὸν παλαιὸν, λέγουσιν, ἐπιρωτηθέντα, ποῶς τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ποιητὴς γεγονέναι Τυρταῖος, εἰπεῖν· ἀγαθὸς γένων ψυχὰς αἰκάλλειν. ἐμπιπλάμενοι, γὰρ, ὑπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων, ΕΝΘΟΥΣΙΑΣΜΟΥ, παρὰ τὰς μάχας ΗΦΕΙΔΟΥΝ ἑαυτῶν.

And, a third time, but more briefly, in his Laconic apophthegms, without assigning the author, thus.

Ερωτηθεὶς Λάκων ὁποῖός ἐστι Τυρταῖος ὁ ποιητὴς· Ἀγαθὸς, εἶπε, κακαγῆν γένων ψυχὰς.

Αἰκάλλειν is a word of much the same meaning as καλλύνειν, tho' more uncommon. it is found, however, once or twice, in Aristophanes: κακαγῆν, if a word at all, and not a blunder, must, I fancy, be an old laconic word, at present out of our knowledge.

IN THE PASSAGE OF LYCURGUS,

from Doctor Taylor's edition.

xx. 2. ἐπαγῶν.] On this, Doctor Taylor's note is; "LONICERUS haec vertere non

"dubitavit, quasi intellexerat. ego confiteor
"me intelligere parum. vertit MEURSIUS in
"PISISTRATO. c. xii. cupio equidem vobis
"et HOMERUM laudans exhibere." Meursius appears to me to have hit the real sense of the words. for the orator is here making the transition, from the *praise* of Euripides, to the *praise* of Homer. his quotation from Euripides, which immediately preceeds, he had introduced by these words --δικαίως ἂν τις Εὐριπίδην ΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΣΕΙΕΝ. page 218. l. 5.

xx. 2. ὑπέλαβον Ἡμῶν οἱ παλαιοί.] Thus it is in the first edition, printed by Aldus 1513. from a MS. brought from Mount Athos in Thrace, by John Lascaris, who travelled in search of ancient manuscripts for the duke of Tuscany. from this edition alone H. Stephens printed his own edition, and complains, in his preface, of the many gross errors, even typographical, he found in Aldus. it is, indeed, one of the most incorrect books Aldus ever printed. in this quotation several occur merely typographical. as xxi. 10. ἐπὶ τὸ for ἐπὶ τῷ; xxi. 12. ἐπὶ ἡδυνον for ἐπὶ ἡδυνον; xxii. 2. ἀμύνες for ἀμείνες. these are corrected by Stephens; who likewise has, here, changed Ἡμῶν into Ὑμῶν. the change is of little consequence.

quence; Lycurgus varies the word himself, thus, a few lines before; having quoted Euripides, ταῦτα, says he, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῆς πατέρας Ἡμῶν ἐπαΐδευε,---and, by and by, after quoting Homer, τῶν τῶν ἐπῶν ἀκρονίς οἱ πατέρες Ἑμῶν. Gruter, in his edition, Hanov. 1619. and Dr. Taylor, have Ἑμῶν, after Stephens.

xxi. 7. τὸν.---ἐβόλον ἐκράτησαν.] I imagine it should be τοῦ ἐβόλου. the first edition by Aldus is extremely incorrect; the change is small from ν to υ, and gives the common syntax of the verb. so, by and by, xxii. 6. τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν. instances where an accusative comes after κρατίω are but very few, and most of them suspicious. the run of the language is for the genitive; as universally, as, perhaps, almost any one usage, on which a rule of language can be founded.

xxi. 8. τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις.] "Ita distinxit, contra atque fecerat Stephanus, ut has voces ad participium κτώμενοι, non ad verbum ἐκράτησαν applicares. idque merito meo! ecce enim, τοῖς ἰΔΙΟΙΣ κινδύνοις ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ἄδειαν ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλησι κλώμενοι. TAYLOR." perfectly right; and a proof of the importance of proper punctuation.

xxii. 11. περὶ τούτου.] Doctor Taylor, after Scaliger, observes very justly that it should be τούτων. for it comes immediately after περὶ τῶν ἄλλων; and seems, in Aldus, an error of the press.

xxii. 13. ἔταρ.---εἰσι.] False Greek. read ὥσιν.

xxiii. 9. οἱ μὲν γὰρ * πρόγονοι.] The word ἡμῶν seems to have dropt out of the MS. here; or been forgot by Aldus, in the first edition.

xxiii. 15. τῷ * βίῳ.] Doctor Taylor has inserted, as a note concerning this word, an ingenious conjecture of PALMERIUS, a learned gentleman of Normandy; one equally, indeed, a gentleman, a soldier and a scholar; who, about ninety years ago, published, in his old age, a volume of his observations on most of the best Greek writers; with whom, in the former part of his life, he had been accustomed to entertain himself, while in winter quarters. and, sometimes, even in camp. writing down, at the same time, on the margin, such remarks as occasionally occurred to him. his conjecture on this word is this.

"Vox τῷ βίῳ non intellecta nobis, mendo-
sa credo est. in proclivi foret reponere τῷ
βίῳ minimā differentiā ductus literæ ρ et β;
sed non memini me legisse circa Thermopy-
las fuisse βίον. nihil certe melius succur-
rit, et βίον est etiam vox significativa; emi-
nentiam et praecipitem locum significat, et
non solum appellativa. sed hoc loco videtur
κυρίως et appellative sumi. si quis quid me-
lius cogitaverit, plausum dabo."

The conjecture is extremely ingenious and happy. Palmerius, writing, probably, from his memory, at a distance from books, has not had an opportunity to do it all the justice it deserves.

ρίον, properly and originally, signifies a *summit*, or *cape*, rising remarkably, by itself, above the ground about it. this we are sure of from Homer; who uses it seven or eight times, and always in this sense. so does Theocritus, after him; in the only two places where it occurs. hence, sometimes, a town upon an eminence was, from its situation, called *ΐον*. such a town, in Messenia, is mentioned by Strabo; who, in the same place, mentions another town, called, in the same manner, *Αἰπεῖα*, from its high situation. Ἰδρυται δὲ ἐπὶ λόφῳ ὑψηλῷ, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα. Book viii. page 360. d. of Casaubon's edition. so, also, the two remarkable promontories, which form the strait at the entrance of the bay of Corinth, were called, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the *ΐον* and the *Ἀντιΐον*; as we find likewise in Strabo, p. 334. d. 335. a. but, Thucydides, however, when relating the passage of the Athenian fleet thorough that Strait, chuses to keep to the proper signification of *ρίον*, as found in Homer, and distinguishes the two promontories by epithets or circumstances. Book ii. p. 159. A. of H. Stephen's second edition; παρέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἐπὶ τὸ *ρίον* τὸ μολυκρινὸν ---- ἦν δὲ τῷτο μὲν τὸ *ρίον* φίλιον τοῖς ἀθηναίοις, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον *ρίον* ἐστὶν ἀντιπέρας, τὸ ἐν πελοποννήσῳ ---- ἐπὶ ἑνὶ τῷ *ρίῳ* τῷ ἀχαϊκῷ ---- μὴ ἐκπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν *ρίων* ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ---- κ. τ. λ. so also, a little before, p. 157. D. Ἀθηναῖοι ---- ἐς μολύκρειον ἀπέπλεον, καὶ τροπαῖον ἑσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ *ρίῳ* ---- ἀνεχωρήσαν. and, a little after, p. 165. A. ἔσθασαν δὲ

καὶ οἱ πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον, ---- καὶ, ἡνπερ ἔλαβον ταῦν, ἀνέθισαν ἐπὶ τὸ *ρίον* τὸ ἀχαϊκόν, παρὰ τὸ τροπαῖον.

Now, such a mount, or eminence, as in Homer is called *ρίον*, there was at Thermopylae; within the wall, and in the passage to it; and, to that eminence Leonidas, when surrounded on all sides, retired, with the three hundred Spartans, those reallest of heroes. *there* they made their last stand. *there* they fought still on, while arms, or splinters of their broken arms, remained; nay, while they had a limb yet capable to do, or seem to do, an office of offence or defence. *there* they died; and, on the spot where they had fallen, were they afterwards buried by their triumphant countrymen, to whom their glorious death had proved the source of victory and pledge of independence. *there*, in fine, the council of the Amphictyones erected a pillar, with these inscriptions, to their memory. thus did the hill at Thermopylae become the most illustrious spot upon the globe. therefore it is called, both by Herodotus and by Lycurgus, THE HILL. by Lycurgus, ΤΟ ΠΙΟΝ; a word, as from the above quotation it would seem, of Doric origin; and therefore not to be expected in Herodotus. he uses an Ionic word Ὁ ΚΟΛΩΝΟΣ, Book vii.

Οἱ Ἕλληνες ---- παραμεψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος, ἐλθόντες, ἔζοντο, ἐπὶ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΛΩΝΟΝ, πάντες αἰεὶς οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς ὅστις ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ὅπου νῦν ὁ λίθος λέων ἔσκηκε ἐπὶ Διωνίδῃ ---- θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφί αὐτῷ ταύτῃ

τῇ τῇ περ ἔπεισον----ἐπιγέγραπται γράμμασι λέγοντα κ. τ. λ. in the same manner Lycurgus says their monuments were ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τῷ ῥίῳ, upon the skirts of the hill.

But, it may occur as an objection; how came an Athenian orator to use a Doric word. that, perhaps, may readily be accounted for thus. the glorious victories and gallant actions of the Greeks, in these two wars maintain'd for liberty against the Persian empire, were chiefly celebrated by the two great poets of the time, Simonides and Pindar. they could not fail to consecrate to fame this hill, the scene of glory to the Greeks. both wrote in the Doric dialect; and, from their verses, so universally admired by their countrymen, this word might easily grow familiar, and in fashion, even at Athens; especially to Lycurgus, whose turn of expression, where it departs from that character of stile preferred by Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Hyperides, leans to the more ancient manner of Thucydides and Isaeus, and loves even to revive, at times, an antique word.

xxiv. 5. ταῖς πράξεσιν.] Here Doctor Taylor has this note.

“Rescribo TOIS ΠΡΑΞΑΣΙΝ, non *rebus gestis*, verum *iis qui gesserunt*. Quisquamne est qui aliter sentiat?”

This appears to me rather an improvement of the stile of Lycurgus than a necessary emendation of the text. it gives the expression a more simple and easy turn; which, however, as it stood, cannot, I think, be called improper,

or obscure. for, to me, the sense of the passage appears to be plainly this. “these epitaphs are *likewise* well deserving to be kept in memory; as *both* a worthy panegyric of those gallant *actions*, and an immortal glory to our *state*.” is not ἐπαῖνος ταῖς πράξεσιν [παλαιῶν] as proper an expression as δόξα τῇ πόλει [ἡμῶν.]

xxiv. 6. ὁ---πεποίηκε. that is ὁ---μεμνημονεύται.

xxiv. 6.] Dr. Taylor proposes an alteration. his words are; “Frigide. Vegetabis *oppositionem*, si legeres modo, ἀλλ ΕΙΣ ΩΝ τὴν ἐξ ἅπαντος τῷ αἰῶνος συνηθροισμένην τῇ πόλει δόξαν καλίσχυνεν. unus ille ex omni *aevo* collectam laudem dedecoravit.”

I cannot read this note with the same pleasure which I commonly find in the learned and ingenious criticisms of this excellent scholar and worthy gentleman. but, *ubi plura nitent*, one small slip, if this be indeed a slip, is nothing. is not, however, the very essence of this treason of Leocrates express'd in ἐκῶν, besides, why suppose that Lycurgus meant to say, that, even *one single* man was able to disgrace the glory which the whole state of Athens had for ages been accumulating to itself? for that wou'd, I imagine, be really the sense of εἰς ὦν. as to the turn given, in this note, to the sense, I am not sure if I understand it; farther than that, by printing “*unus---ex omni aevo*” in a different character from the rest of the translation, the meaning seems, that, *he alone, within the memory of*

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men, had disgraced &c. but, in the introduction to these notes on this oration, we are informed, that, two other men were arraigned for this very treason; Lycurgus himself, as Plutarch relates in his life, being accuser of all the three; and one, at least, of the other two, had been, already, before the tryal of Leocrates came on, both tryed and condemned; as Lycurgus himself, in the preceeding part of this very oration, expressly mentions.

Lastly, by the very arrangement of the words here, it is impossible, I think, to refer ἐξ ἀπαρτος τῷ αἰῶνος το εἰς ὧν; they must, from the position of the article τῇ, be necessarily referred to τὴν δόξαν.

xxiv. 14. πολεμίους.] "Quid mihi negotii" est cum hostibus. contentio est inter auditores eorumque majores. Ἐκείνα μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ΠΑΛΑΙΟΙΣ εὐδοκίμειν, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν κ. τ. λ. "TAYLOR." the objection is plausible, and the conjecture very ingenious. but, perhaps, Lycurgus means, that, such a coward as Leocrates would not have escaped condign punishment among the MACEDONIANS. them, we know, he always thought enemies; tho' he might not chuse to speak out his mind publicly, at the time of this tryal; when Alexander had now completed the conquest of Asia, and raised the Macedonian power to such a hight, as left but little, or no, hope to the Greek patriots, of recovering again the independence of their country.

IN ATHENAEUS

xxvii. 16. ἔθος ποιήσασθαι Ἀ"Ν δειπνοποιήσων] So it is printed in Athenaeus, being manifestly corrupted from ὅταν.

IN TYRTAEUS.

A.

V. 1. τιθείμην] It is τιθείην, in Stobaeus, and the editions of Tyrtaeus; which, here, is but bad Greek. τιθείμην is restored from Plato, B. I. of the Laws, where he quotes this verse.

V. 11, and 12. This couplet is likewise quoted by Plato, in the same place.

V. 15. Between this and the foregoing fourteen verses, there are inserted, in Stobaeus, two short quotations from Euripides.

V. 16. διαβάς---μένη] See the note on Γ. 21.

V. last. πολέμην] Amended in the editions of Tyrtaeus; and on the margin of Stobaeus, as a reading of one MS. but, in his text, it is πόλεμον.

B.

V. 16. δῆμῳ] It is δειλῷ in the two editions of H. Stephens; one in folio, among the *Poetae principes*; the other in duodecimo, along with Theocritus. but, in the text of Stobaeus, it is δῆμῳ, without any other reading on the margin.

Γ.

V. 1. ἀνίκητον] So, in the editions; and on the margin of Stobaeus, as a various reading from a MS. but, in the text, ἀνίκητον; rather preferable, considering what follows.

E

V. 6. *ἀνγαῖον κῆρας*] On the margin of Stobaeus, from one MS. there is *κῆρας ἀνγαῖον*. of no moment. but the sense of this couplet is not easy to hit. perhaps it may be thus. "Look on life as odious in the sight of the sun [unless you conquer;] but think that he will shine with pleasure on your fallen bodies; however dark and gloomy death may be to others." see the preface, and the passage of Justin there.

V. 7. *πολυδακρύτην*] Amended in the editions, from a reading of one MS. on the margin of Stobaeus; in his text, *πολυδακρύν*.

V. 7. *αἰδῖναι*] On the margin of Stobaeus *αἰδῖναι*, according to some MSs.

V. 9. *μετὰ*] *παρὰ* in some MSs. on the margin of Stobaeus.

V. 19. *ἀσχερὲς*] *ἀσχερὲς*. as in the last note.

V. 21, 22. *εὐ διαβάς--μνῆτω--στηριχθεῖς*] that is, STRIDE WELL AND STAND FIRM. see this again, Δ. 31, 32.

V. 36. *βάλλετ*] This is in both editions of H. Stephens, altho' the text of Stobaeus, without any marginal mark of other reading, exhibits *σφαλλετ*, *strike them down*. it is, indeed, frequently to be met with in ancient authors, that, a less known word has been changed into one more common, but, how came such a slip to escape so thorough-bred a scholar as HENRY STEPHENS? let it be remembered, that, in several of his editions, he gave himself no more time to adjust the text, than he was

necessarily obliged to spend in correcting the press; which, as he tells us himself, he often did *ad clepsidram*, *at pueri reverſi currente*. the proper meaning of *σφαλλω* is *to throw to the ground*. it was, originally, a term used in wrestling, or struggling. the ancient form of it was *φάλλω*, whence the latin word. afterwards from *ἐς*-[*γῆν*] *φάλλω* came *σφαλλω*, as from *ἐς*-[*βάλλον*] *τίγω*, came *στίγω*; and, from *ἐς* *κόρακας* came *σκαρκαίζω*, &c.

V. last. *ταῖσι πανοπλίαις*.] Certainly wrong; for, *-αι-*, in *πανοπλίαις*, cannot be lengthened in pronouncing the verse. in the text of Stobaeus it is *τοῖσι πανοπλίαις*; and, on the margin, from some MSs. is *πανοπλίταις*; undoubtedly the true reading; tho' a word, which, in that compound form, is not found in the lexicons. thus, v. 7. there was, in the text of Stobaeus, *πολυδακρύν*, for *πολυδακρύτην* marked on the margin from a MS.

Δ.

V. 7.-9. *Ἐχθρὸς μὲν γάρ---Αἰσχύνη δὲ γένος*] This last poem of Tyrtaeus was printed three times by H. Stephens. first, in his edition of the *Poetae Principes Graeci*, folio, 1566. with the other pieces of Tyrtaeus. next, by itself, in the oration of Lysurgus, among the *Oratores veteres*, folio, 1575. lastly, with the rest of Tyrtaeus, in his edition of Theocritus and some other poets, in duodecimo, 1579. he has inserted *μὲν*, which is his own emendation, in the first and last, tho' not in the second. the verse plainly wanted a syllable, and the particle

μὲν supplies it with great propriety. but, in the next hexameter, a small solecism, in the Greek as it stood, has escaped the notice of Stephens; or rather, the removal of it depends upon a nicety of the language not attended to in his time. *Αἰσχύνη* *ΤΕ* *γίνε*, is a solecism here; the true Greek is *Αἰσχύνη* *ΔΕ* *γίνε*. for, in Greek, when several things are to be enumerated, as distinct from each other; either *καὶ* of them, after the first, is connected with the rest by the particle *δὲ*; or, *καὶ* of them at all. Tyrtæus here enumerates the several circumstances of distress which befall the man who abandons the defence of his country. the circumstances he mentions are plainly these four. 1. Being sunk in indigence and poverty, he finds no friend wherever he goes. 2. He disgraces his ancestors. 3. He affronts the manly figure of his own person. 4. Despair and misery are his companions. therefore, since it is *ἐλέγχει δὲ, ἔπειτα δὲ*, it must also be *Αἰσχύνη δὲ*. for this is an invariable rule, as any one will plainly see, upon perusing, with a very little attention, any Greek Classic. and, for the same reason that *δὲ* ought to be restored here, it ought to be taken away in the second verse of the second ode of Anacreon; where, instead of *Ὀπλὰς δ' ἔδωκεν ἵπποις*, the true reading is *Ὀπλὰς δίδωκεν ἵπποις*. there is indeed an additional reason for this emendation in Anacreon, arising from the *ratio temporum*; another, and, perhaps, the chief nicety of this fine language; which Dr. Clark was the first to discover, and

made some advances for entering into it; but has by no means made his way good.

V. 10. *ἀθυμία*] An emendation of H. Stephens; inserted in his first and third editions, but not in the second; where he has *ἐνθυμία*, as has Dr. Taylor. Aldus has neither the one nor the other; but, plainly, *ἐνθυμία*; which is equally near to either, but, of the two, the sense demands *ἀθυμία*. despair being, naturally, the last and finishing distress, which renders misery complete. *ἐνθυμία* was already included in the former part of the description.

V. 17. *ῥοιῖται*.] I believe it should be *ῥοιῖται*, in the middle voice. in A. v. 1. *τιθῆμην* is inserted in the text, for *τιθῆναι*, which stands in all the former editions; because the true reading is found in Plato. the *ratio lingue Græcæ* is the same here; but, where there is no voucher, it is, in most cases, the better way, to make no change in the text itself, whatever be proposed in the notes.

V. 27. The sense of this and the three following verses has been strangely mistaken. they are, along with some of the preceeding verses, an imitation of Priam's speech to Hector, Book XXII. of the Iliad.

X. 71.

—*τίω δὲ τι πάντ' ἐπίοικεν*
Ἀρὴν καταμένω, διδαγμένω ὅξει χαλκῷ,
Κεῖσθαι πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντι περ, ὅ, τίς φανείη·
Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολὺν τε κάρη, πολὺν τε γένειον,
Αἰδῶ τ' ἀσχύνωσι κύνες καταμένοιο γέροντος,
Τῷτο δὲ οἴκτισον πέλιτα, δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.

This has misled the translators and editors; who have endeavoured, here, to construe the words of Tyrtaeus so as to make him agree with Homer *exactly*; not being aware, that, he varies a *little* from his original. in Homer, Priam only says that all the chances of *war*, death and mangled limbs, are becoming and honourable to a young man. Tyrtaeus, extending the thought, takes in both *war* and *peace*. "all conditions, of life, or death, become, alike, the young man. as long as he is in the bloom of youth, he has, while living and at home, an amiable appearance, both in the sight of men and women; and, falling in the field, he makes a comely figure in the bed of honour." thus, these four verses, to be easily understood, need only to be right pointed, and the meaning of the particle *ἄρα* properly attended to. Dr. Taylor, in his note on these verses, very justly blames Lonicer the Latin translator; but he, almost, blames Tyrtaeus too. "*Ex Graecis*, says he, *non sane ardentissimis, Latina frigida fecit*;" being led, I imagine, into this

criticism, by the vicious punctuation; by the wrong turn given to the sense in both of the two Latin translations, in prose, and verse; and, perhaps, out of deference to Scaliger's opinion; who thought the Greek vitiated, and for ἀνδράσι MEN θνητοῖσι, proposed to read ἀνδράσιν EN θνητοῖσι; an alteration which discovers no great skill, either in Greek, or in good writing; and is only excusable when considered as an extemporary thought, hastily jotted down on a margin. to me, these verses, in Tyrtaeus, seem to have lost nothing of the original glow, given them, at first, by Homer.

V. 31. *εὖ διαβὰς*, &c.] Doctor Taylor, in a note here, gives, from the *Miscellaneae Observationes Criticae*, T. 1. p. 126. the true meaning of this expression. see, above, the note at Γ. 21, 22.

N. B. The following Latin translation of Tyrtaeus is printed, without any alteration, from the edition of H. Stephens, in duodecimo, 1579.

E R R A T A.

Page 9. Verse 9. for *δε*, read *δι*.

Page 14. column 2. line 2. dele *ous*.

T Y R T A E I
DE VIRTUTE BELLICA
CARMINUM RELIQUIAE.

I.

NON memoraverim virum, nec in pretio habuerim,

Seu virtutis pedum [gratiâ] seu luctae;

Neque si Cyclopum habeat magnitudinem et robur,

Et currendo vincat Thracium Aquilonem;

Et formâ sit vel ipso Tithono praestantior,

Et locupletior quàm aut Midas aut Cinyras [reges;]

Neque si Tantalidem Pelopem regno vincat,

Linguâmq; Adrasti suavissimam habeat;

Neque si gloriam omnem praeter bellicam fortitudinem habeat.

Non enim vir bonus est in bello,

Si non sustineat caedem videre cruentam,

Et propiùs hostem stare cupiat.

Haec virtus est, hoc optimum inter homines praemium,

Et maximè decorat virum juvenem, à quo geritur.

Commune hoc bonum est civitati, et universo populo,

Si quis vir progressus inter pugnantes-in-prima-acie maneat

Constanter, turpisque fugae prorsus obliviscatur,

Vitam et animum patientem objiciens periculo;

Animétque ad mortem obeundam proximum virum adstans:

Hic vir bonus est in bello.

Statim verò hostium in fugam vertit phalanges

Asperas, suâque industriâ praelii fluctus regit.

Ipsè autem in prima acie prostratus charam amittit vitam,

Civitatem, et populos, et patrem honestans;

Multis per pectus et scutum rotundum vulneribus,

Et per thoracem ab anteriore parte sauciatus.

Hunc verò lugent pariter juvenes senésque,

Et gravi desiderio tota civitas funus ipsius prosequitur.

Hujus sepulcrum, et liberi inter homines praeclari sunt,

Itémque nepotes, et omne posterorum genus.

Nunquam ejus bona gloria interit, neque nomen ipsius,

Sed, quamvis sub terra sit, manet immortalis,

Quem se fortiter gerentem, manentemque, et pignantem

Pro patria et liberis vehemens Mars peremerit.

Quòd si effugerit sortem mortis longum-inducentis-soporem,

Et victoriâ potitus splendidam gloriam pugnae auferat:

Ipsam ex aequo omnes juvenesque senesque colunt,

Multisque jucundis affectus ad Orcum abit.

Senescens autem inter cives praececellit, neque quis illum

Laedere nec irreverenter nec injustè cupit;

Omnésque in sedibus juvenes simul et aequales

Loco cedunt ei, quique majores nati sunt.

Hujus igitur virtutis ad summum pervenire nunc aliquis

Nitatur animo, non remittens bellum.

II.

QUAMDIU torpetis? quando strennum habebitis animum,

O juvenes? neque veremini vicinos

Ob tantam ignaviam? In pace autem vobis videmini

Sedere: sed bellum totam regionem infestat.

Et aliquis moriens ultimò jaculum emittat.

Honori enim est et ornamento viro, pugnare

Pro patria et liberis et tenera uxore,

Adversus hostes. Mors autem aderit, quandocunque

Parcae destinaverint. Sed agè quispiam rectà pergat

Extenso in altum gladio, et ubi scuto forte pectus

Foveat, quàm primùm incipiet committi pugna.

Non enim mortem effugere fatale est

Virum, neque si à majoribus immortalibus genus ducat,

Saepe quis elapsus è pugna sonitúque telorum

Evadit, sed [ipsum] domi fatalis mors apprehendit.

Atque hic sanè nec amicus est populo, nec gratus:

Illum verò magnus et parvus deflent, siquid passus fuerit.

Universus enim populus virum fortem desiderat

Defunctum, viventem verò instar semidei colit.

Nam coràm intuentur illum velut turrim:

Quippe solus multorum aequat facinora.

G

III.

VERUM T AMEN Herculis genus invictum estis

Confidite, nondum Jovis facies aversa est a nobis.

Nec hominum turbam formidetis aut metuatis;

Quin rectà quisque hostibus scutum obvertat,

Invisam amissurus animam, mortisque nigrum,

Sed solis splendori gratum, subiturus fatum.

Nostis enim quàm gravia sint Martis luctuosi opera,

Nostis etiam impetum permolesti belli:

Et quandoque fugistis ipsi, quandoque alios fugastis,

Juvenes, utrumque satis experti estis.

Nam ex illis qui audent, unà persistentes,

Cominus in hostes adversos impetum facere,

Perpauci occidunt, retróque servant populum:

Timidorum autem virorum omnis perit virtus.

Vix autem aliquis verbis explicare possit

Quanta incurrat mala vir qui se turpiter dederit.

Ignominiosum namque est tergum sauciare

Viri fugientis in adverso praelio;

Turpe quoque est cadaver in pulvere prostratum

Atque in tergo hastae cuspide vulneratum.

Sed progressus quispiam maneat firmus utroque pede

Terrae infixo, labia dentibus praemordens:

Femora et tibiae inferné, necnon pectus humerosque

Lati clypei umbone contegens:

Dextra vero manu validam hastam torqueat,

Terribilemque in capite cristam motet.

Fortia autem patrans facta discat bellare,

Nec a telis procul absit clypeum gerens.

Sed congregiendi quispiam, cominus longa hasta

Vel gladio percussurus, hostem capiat:

Et pedem pedi jungens, clypeumque clypeo admovens,

Necnon cristam cristae, galeamque aptans galeae,

Pectorique obverso pectore contra hostem pugnet,

Vel gladii capulo, vel hasta praelonga arrepta.

Vos autem, levis-armaturae-milites, sub scutis aliunde alii

Trepidantes, grandibus pugnate lapidibus,

Hastasque leves contorquete in hostes,

[Vestram] prope armaturam permanentes.

IV.

PRAECLARUM est, in prima acie si occumbat

Vir bonus, pro patria sua pugnans.

At si quis urbe sua pinguibusque arvis relictis

Mendicare cogitur, [hoc] omnium est miserrimum;

Cum chara matre vagans, et sene parente,

Cumque parvulis filiis, et adolescentula uxore.

Invisus namque erit ad quoscunque pervenerit,

Indigentia victus et odiosa paupertate.

Infamatque genus suum, et formam decoram turpat:

Omnis generis anxietas et mala eum sequuntur.

Tandem sic errantem hominem nulla [decori] cura

Afficit, nec pudor ullus in posterum est ei.

At nos animo forti pro terra hac pugnemus, et pro liberis

Moriamur, nequaquam vitae parcentes.

O juvenes, arctè invicem juncti pugnate,

Neque turpis fugae aut timoris initium facite.

H

Sed magnum fortemque concipite animo impetum:

Neque pugnantes adversus hostes vitae rationem habete.

Veteranis autem, quorum genua non amplius sunt agilia,

Grandaevis relictis, ne fugite.

Turpe enim est si in prima acie prostratus

Jaceat ante juvenes vir senior,

Candidum jam habens caput, barbamque canam,

Animam efflans fortem in pulvere:

Cruenta charis manibus pudenda tegens,

(Quae oculis intueri et turpe et indignum est)

Et denudatus corpore: juvenes autem omnia decent,

Dum pulchrum pubertatis florem habent.

Viris quidem mortalibus et mulieribus visu amabilis [est]

Vivus adhuc, pulcher autem, quum in prima acie ceciderit.

Sed progressus ad pugnam quispiam maneat utroque pede

Terrae infixio, labia dentibus praemordens.

F I N I S.

